LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Bucharest, December 5, 1930.

No. 558

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The Honorable,

The Secretary of State, JAN 10 1931

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith the resumé of a speech delivered in Parliament by Mr. Gafenco, former Secretary General of the Foreign Office, concerning Rumania's foreign relations.

FILED JAN 17 1931

Mr. Gafenco was an exceptionally intelligent and capable secretary general and his subsequent appointment as Under Secretary of the Ministry of Public Works and Communications was very generally regretted by all the foreign missions here. He is now a deputy, the position of Under Secretary of State having been abolished for reasons of economy.

The opposition paper, L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE, comments upon Mr. Gafenco's speech as follows:

"We

"We would have liked to see the former Secretary General find words adequate to translate the real sentiments of unchanging friendship and deep affection by all good Rumanians toward our sister nation Italy, not however ignoring the disconcerting deception and grave apprehension legitimately provoked by the Duce's revisionist policy and by the recent Fascist-Soviet manifestations.

"We would also have liked to have the representative of parliamentary majority show less confidence in the sincerity of the reassuring statements which Mr. Litvinoff likes to make on all occasions and on every subject."

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

ENCLOSURE:

1. Resumé of speech by Mr. Gafenco, former Secretary General of Foreign Office concerning Rumania's foreign relations, delivered in Parliament, in translation from L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of 12/5/30.

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In translation from
L'INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of
December 5, 1930.

American Legation,
Bucharest, Rumania,
Despatch No. 558 of
12/5/30,
Enclosure No. 1.

RESUME OF A SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES ON DECEMBER 3, 1930 BY MR. GAFENCO, FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

Two great problems of foreign policy which interest us especially are the order of the day: the increasingly persistent campaign for the revision of the treaties, and Russia's economic and armament policies.

We remain passive in the presence of these great problems while the Parliament of France, one of the most powerful countries in the world, trembles with uneasiness before them. We have remained in the regrettable state of mind that prevailed before the war when a Bismark dictated the stuff of foreign policy and we had not a word to say. From this point of view we should be grateful to Mr. Titulesco who has struggled so hard, and with success, to obtain for Rumania the place it merits in the European concert of nations.

In reply to an interpellation in the French Parliament Mr. Briand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated that he had no intention whatever of abandoning his policy of peace. The French Parliament approved. Of course we can only follow the same path as our great ally, France. However, it is none the less true that we should have our eyes open. Hungarian irredentism begins to be dangerous. The visits of Count Bethlen to Rome, Berlin and Angora cannot but awaken our apprehensions.

Propaganda for the revision of the treaties unfortunately comes not only from Budapest, but also from our friend,

friend, Italy. It is true that formal assurances have been given our government, and it is possible that Italy is only pursuing a policy of changing zones of economic and political influence, in which case the question no longer interests us directly. But Italy knows that any modification of frontiers is in direct relation to the maintenance of peace.

Another power which is becoming more and more intensely active for the revision of the treaties is Germany. Is it in the interest of this power to reduce us territorially and to weaken the Rumanian state? More than ever Germany needs the liberty of the Danube and its mouth, of which Rumania in its present form is the best of guaranties. The best interests of Germany would not be served by a change in the present state of affairs as far as we are concerned.

With regard to Russia our situation is especially delicate for we cannot have political relations with that country as long as it does not recognize the union of Bessarabia with Rumania. But that doesn't hinder us having a definite policy with regard to Russia. Above all we should face the fact that Russia exists — and why not? — and the Minister for Foreign Affairs should govern himself accordingly. It is not only the services of public security which should concern themselves with Russia. We should study and know the Russian situation. Certainly we shall never undertake an attack against the Russian people nor against their government. That is not only the sentiment of our officialdom, but also of our people.

One fact is certain; Russia is arming. Against whom is this armament directed? Is it only to defend itself

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in case of necessity, or for attack? Russia should know that even a partial attack on its part would bring about a general conflagration. Whatever they may be these Russian armaments place us in a position of painful uncertainty which forces us to take every measure of surety.

Our ally, Poland, follows an intelligent and prudent policy with regard to Russia, founded upon information that is sure and a precise knowledge of prevailing conditions in the Soviet Republic. From this we should be able to learn many interesting things.

We should have the best of relations with Bulgaria. If we have certain points of friction with our neighbor, we have also many common interests.

We should have the same attitude with regard to Turkey.

For all of these problems we must have at our disposition a live and effective organization. What we lack is the incentive to work and a sense of responsibility. We especially need concise directives in our foreign policy.

We should take part with all our force in the struggle for peace which is going on everywhere. Let our diplomatic service say that to itself. In return we should give to the diplomatic service all the prestige that it needs. The reductions in the diplomatic service which have been proposed would leave us without representatives in many important centres and would not bring about any considerable saving in the budget. We need everywhere men who can represent us with dignity and who can make known the firm decision of the Rumanian people to defend their mission, their frontiers and their existence.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 871.00/337 FOR #647

FROM Rumania (Wilson) DATED April 23, 1931
TO NAME

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771.00/114

REGARDING:

Statement of Professor Iorga relative to the foreign policy of his Government.

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Professor Iorga says that the Foreign Policy of Rumania is not a party matter and that his policy will be the same as that of his predecessors. (Firm alliance with France, Poland and the Little Entente and integrity of the peace treaties).

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Bucharest, May 28, 1931.

No. 673.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 25 1931
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUR. PLAN AFFAIRS

JUN 19 31
FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No

Office of Economic Adviser
JUN 29 1931
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 22 1931
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FILED
JUN 30 1931

N 771.00/15

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

In view of reports that have been current in the foreign press that the attitude of Rumania at the meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva and at the recent meeting of the Little Entente at Bucharest had been influenced by pressure brought to bear by certain foreign nations, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers has issued the following official statement:

> "As public opinion may be impressed by false and misleading information published in various local and foreign papers, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers considers it necessary to state that at no time has there been, nor could there be, any intervention on the part of a foreign power with a view to determining

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the decisions of the Rumanian Government on questions relative to the foreign policy of Rumania in the economic domain.

"Rumania, under all its Governments, has maintained the dignity and prestige of a sovereign state and the present Government cannot allow itself to be considered less sensitive than others where questions of national sentiment, honor and independence are concerned.

"Neither at Bucharest nor at Geneva have any of the important interests of the country been sacrificed or compromised; Rumania's liberty of action remains full and absolute and, in questions of an economic nature--whether by means of a general agreement, or by means of the conclusion eventually of bilateral agreements--the Rumanian Government will endeavor to find a solution most profitable to our agrarian interests.

"For these reasons the Presidency of the Council urges public opinion not to lend faith to these ill-natured attempts which, by totally inexact comments, not only concerning the negotiations between Germany and Rumania for a commercial agreement, but also concerning the general tendency of our national foreign policy, have as their sole object to inspire doubt and uneasiness."

In commenting upon the above statement, the INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of the 28th instant writes:

"We publish above the official statement of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers concerning the policy of Rumania in regard to the recent negotiations for a commercial agreement with Germany and the attitude adopted on the "Anschluss" question. This statement is all the more welcome as certain French papers continue to echo the most improbable assertions on the political tendencies of the new Cabinet. Thus the OEUVRE is informed by its Geneva correspondent "that at Bucharest pro-German tendencies will certainly be manifested with Mr. Argetoianu in opposition to Mr. Titulescu here (Geneva)". In the ECHO DE PARIS Pertinax even goes so far as to speak of the total confusion which exists in the whole Little Entente.

"In the presence of these assertions and fantastic comments, an official statement is called for, and it has been made."

In regard to the alleged divergence of opinion between

between Mr. Argetoianu and Mr. Titulescu as to the foreign policy of Rumania, I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of an article from the INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE denying the possibility of there being any difference of views between the two, and stating that the foreign policy of Rumania remains the same under the present Government as it has been in the past.

In referring to this same subject, the INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of the 26th instant writes as follows:

> "French papers of Thursday, May 21st, repeat certain erroneous statements concerning a divergence in the political tendencies which exists within the Rumanian Government itself, or, in other words, between Mr. Argetoianu, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Titulescu, the Rumanian delegate at the Council of the League of Nations. Twice, Pertinax has stated in the ECHO DE PARIS that Mr. Titulescu is undoubtedly and unreservedly supporting the plan of Mr. Briand, but, he adds, "is the Rumanian delegate sure of the future, and is not a delegate of Mr. Argetoianu negotiating here (Geneva) with the German delegation for the renewal of German-Rumanian negotiations?" Mr. Barde, in the OEUVRE tries to place in opposition the attitude adopted by Mr. Titulescu in the name of Rumania and the pro-German policy pursued by Mr. Argetoianu at Bucharest.
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> "We are sincerely surprised that so trained and serious writers as Pertinax and Mr. Henri Barde can believe for an instant and state in good faith that a Rumanian delegate, whatever may be his moral authority and his national and international prestige, could adopt an attitude which is not in conformity on all points with the views of the Government he represents.
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> "Moreover, we are only repeating a truth of Mr. Palisse in stating again, that from the point of view of the line of foreign policy, there is no disagreement nor any divergence of any nature whatsoever between the parties or between the political leaders of our country.
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> "Anxious, first of all, to maintain

peace

peace and preserve the territorial status-quo guaranteed by existing treaties, the Rumanian Government intends to support these unchangeable principles, in full agreement with all its allies and all its friends--with all its forces of action and all its interests, political as well as economic. Whoever questions the sincerity of this political policy is purely and simply ignorant of the premises as well as the aims of Rumanian foreign policy."

Respectfully yours,

Charles S. Wilson

Charles S. Wilson.

Enclosure:

1. Translation of article appearing in the INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE of May 27, 1931.

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qn. Three copies to E.I.C. Paris.

In translation from the
INDEPENDANCE ROUMAINE
of May 27, 1931.

American Legation,
Bucharest, Rumania.
Despatch No. 673.
Enclosure No. 1.

WHAT IS THE FOREIGN POLICY OF RUMANIA?

A part of the French press has shown some vexation at the mannter in which the recent Rumanian ministerial crisis was solved. The attempt of Mr. Titutlescu to form a government of national union and his failure to do so provoked, in Paris, certain uneasiness with regard to our foreign policy. Some of our Parisian confrères still wonder if the representative of Rumania, who took part in the recent discussions at Geneva acted in accordance with the views of the Government at Bucharest in adhering to the French proposals.

We do not hesitate to say again that this interpretation constitutes a grave error. If Mr. Titulescu consented to represent Rumania at Geneva, he did so because he was in perfect accord with the Rumanian Government with regard to important questions of foreign policy. That policy does not depend in any way upon the vicissitudes of the internal situation. A tradition of fifteen years' standing has placed our country on a track which it cannot, and does not desire to abandon. Its vital interests oblige it to be on the side of those who defend the peace treaties, to which New Rumania owes its existence.

Our country has never practiced a policy of duplicity and would not abandon its allies in such a grave international situation for economic reasons which are without doubt important, but which could not be of a nature to inspire such a change of tack. Those who make their calculations based on pretended divergences in the present Cabinet are mistaken. In such a matter not only

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the Government, but also the entire country is unanimously in favor of continuing a policy which has, up to now assured peace in Europe and which will maintain it in the future. Mr. Argetoianu--for it is he who is principally blamed by French newspapers--could not think of taking an attitude in the matter different from that of his colleagues and of the President of the Council who has declared himself several times on this question.

Rumania is passing through a grave economic crisis. The offers which have been received from certain quarters are no doubt very enticing, but those offers have also a political aspect which could not suit Rumania. The task of helping Rumania out of the present difficult situation falls upon its allies--principally upon France--by urgent measures which were discussed in principle at Geneva. An alliance does not consist only in signing a treaty, but should be effective and active in economic matters as well as in political.

Central File: Decimal File 771.00, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Romania And The World, December 5, 1930 - May 28, 1931. December 5, 1930 - May 28, 1931. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111393586%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 20 June 2025.